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105 (*ădat*). In religion they are now all Mahometans, in language they belong to the Jagatai Turks. Clan division is still fairly strict among them, and migrations are usually carried out in clans. Their custom of endogamy may be regarded as having as its object the preservation of the purity of their race from foreign admixture. Since the women are inferior in numbers to the men, the *kalym* or bride-price is very high, and in some places the unmarried men form 27 per cent. of the population. Their clans are nine in number, [618] two of them, however, being almost extinct. The chief clans are:

Chaudor, between Khiva and the Caspian;
Yomut, on the south shore of the Caspian, and in south-west Khiva;
Goklan, on Persian soil;
Akhal and *Merv Tekkes*, in the Akhal and Merv oases;
Sarik, on the middle Murgab;
Salor, round Merv and in northern Persia;
Ersari, on the middle Amu Daria, and near Khoya Salih.

[144] Though linguistically and politically classified as Turks, in all these people the Iranian type predominates, in culture as well as in physique.

[162] The Sarts (1,847,000 in 1911, as against 1,458,000 in 1897) live in the Ferghana and Syr Daria territories, and are also to be found sporadically in other parts of Turkestan.

[144] They are a mixture of the original Iranian inhabitants, the Tadjiks, with their Turanian conquerors, the Usbegs. In physical type they approach nearer to the Iranians. They live in villages, called *kishlak*, and their houses, called *sakla*, are made of a compound of wood and clay.

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619 and subdivided into the Arghyn, Naïman, Kipchak, and Konkrat tribes.

3. Kichik-yūz (Kichik-jus) or Little Orda, living between the Aral Sea and the lower Volga, and subdivided into the Alchin and Yabbas tribes.

565 At the present time the 'hordes' of the Kaizak intermingle to a great extent, but class distinctions within the hordes are still upheld. The nobility, called Tiuri or Ak-sök, i.e. 'White Bones', trace their ancestry from Jinghis Khan, notwithstanding that the latter was a Mongol. All the other people are called Kara-sök, i.e. 'Black Bones'. Some old legal customs still disregard the Russian law, as e.g. that of *baranta*, or revenge for a wrong inflicted on one tribesman or clansman, by carrying away the culprit's or his clansmen's herd.

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618 Like the other Turks, the Kaizak base their social structure upon a patriarchal system. It is very difficult to define what should be called a clan among the Turks of Central Asia, in the sense in which that term is used in dealing with Africa and Australia. There seems to be a conception of a political group, called among both the Kirghis and the Kaizak *uruk* or *ru*, with its head, *bey*, *bi*, or *serdar* (possibly a confederation of such clans was once called *el*), while a group of families affiliated by blood is called by the Kaizak *taypas* or *tayfa* (by the Kirghis *kyrk*). The head of such a sub-clan, based on blood relationship, is called *ak-sakal*. An amalgamation of several sub-clans forms a *sök* (clan).

If a clan 'sök' increases in size, and wishes to divide or to migrate, the departive group sometimes takes as a name the word for the number of the sub-clans of which it is composed, e.g. *On* ('ten'), *Yur* ('a hundred'); or

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choose some characteristic trait of their group, e. g. Kaizak, 'Wanderers free as steppe birds', Kara-Sakal, 'Black Beards', Kara-Kalpak, 'Black Caps'. Sometimes they may adopt the name of their leader, e. g. Usbegs, Seljuk, or that of the most influential sub-clan, e. g. Sakhalar (the name of the nation called by the Russians the Yakut), though not all the members of this nation belong to the Sakhalar sub-clan. The clan-name Sakhalar (sing. Sakky) is to be found among many Turkic people of the Abakan and upper Yenisei, and it was probably only with the Russian advance at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries that one group of the Sakhalar clan migrated towards Lake Baikal, and then northwards along the Lena, while a smaller group went directly northwards along the Yenisei. This would be about the time when the Burut-Kirghis migrated from the upper Yenisei to Jungaria.[1]

Thus in the case of these migrations the clan names are not sufficient guide in tracing the racial affinity of the people. More assistance is obtained from a study of their sub-clan crests, or *tamgas* (sing. *tamga, tamaga, tamka, dam-k'a, t'amga*), and their war-cries (*urany*, sing. *uran*). It is curious that these two most interesting sources of ethnological evidence have so far been only partly investigated, though considering the numerous divisions and subdivisions existing among the Turkic peoples, and the fact that the national names are, as has been seen, accidental and variable, any permanent means

[1] N. N. Kosmin, *D. A. Klements and the Historical and Ethnographical Investigation of the Minusinsk Country*, Irkutsk, 1916, pp. 13-15.

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618 of throwing light on their racial relationships ought to be welcomed.

[619] How complicated their tribal and clan subdivisions are is seen in the following table given by the Kaizak ethnologist Mustafa Chokayeff, to explain his own standing in the Kaizak nation.[1] He belongs to—

Turkic race,
Kaizak nation,
Middle orda,
Kipchak tribe,
Toru-aibgyr clan,
Shashli sub-clan,
Boshai branch (in Russian *kolieno*),
Janay sub-branch (*podkolieno*).

The *tamga* may be regarded as the symbol of a sub-clan (*tayfa* among the Kaizak, *kyrk* among the Kirghis), a group of families affiliated by blood, because it is such groups which usually live together, and whose live stock, whether reindeer, horses, or dromedaries, are marked by this symbol. The *tamga* appears also on their various belongings, as well as on the graves of deceased members of the clan.

618 172 The antiquity of these symbols can be judged from the fact that they are to be seen on the old Nestorian monuments, and on the monument to Khan Kul-Tegin in the valley of the Orkhon, on which the inscriptions are in old Turkic characters, dating from 732 A.D.[2] Those who boldly derive the old Turkic written

[1] A. N. Samoylovich, 'Prohibited words in the vocabulary of a married woman among the Kaizak', *L. A. T.*, vols. I-II, 1915, p. 162.

[2] N. A. Aristoff, *Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition*, &c., 1894, p. 410; N. Mallitski, *On the connection between the Turkic 'tamga' and the Orkhon characters*, 1897-8, p. 43.

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character from the clan *tamgas* would of course claim greater antiquity than that of Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions.

According to tradition, the *tamga* was introduced among the Kaizak by their Khan Tiavka, because the Kaizak of his time were so rich in cattle that some device of this kind was necessary for the identification of the various herds. Some think that the origin of the *tamga* is to be sought in Mongolia, but as a matter of fact it occurs among the Turks no less frequently than among the Mongols and Tungus, because the custom of marking cattle is natural and common to most pastoral people. As may be expected, the pastoral Turks, such as the Kaizak and some of the Kirghis, have the *tamga* system much more highly developed than have the sedentary part of the Kirghis, the Altaians, and the forest and mountain Turks generally. Being either hunters or agriculturists, they have less need of the *tamga* for practical purposes. The study of the *tamgas* gives in many cases a clue to the composition of the tribe; for example, among the Kaizak there are to be found *tamgas* of various Turkic tribes of Asia, either in their original form or as composite signs, thus proving conclusively the mixed origin of that people.[1]

It is difficult to ascertain how far the *tamgà* corresponds to a totem. Some *tamgas* seem to represent merely geometric designs: the Naïman clans had as their favourite *tamga* an angle, the Kirei use a square. Some of the Kaizak of the Middle Orda have *tamgas* representing a 'bird's rib' (*urdas bii*), a comb (*tarak*), and a forked stick (*selak*). Sometimes, however, the

[1] Aristoff, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

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tamga plays more obviously the rôle of a totem. Among the Turks of the Minusinsk country there exist survivals of public clan sacrifices to the spirit-owner of the clan, for instance the horse, which appears also to be the clan *tamga*.

At the present time the *tamga* is usually cut or branded on the left side of the animal, i.e. the side from which the rider mounts, but the exact place where the mark is made differs among the various tribes.

The fact that the same *tamgas* are used on graves belonging to the same clan is of assistance in tracing the migration of clans, but it is only by considering the *tamga* on the one hand, and the *uran* or war-cry on the other, that the origin of a group can be traced. The *uran* was originally the common property of a political group, a larger unit than the group of blood-relations who owned the *tamga*. It often consists of the name of a well-known chief or hero, but since the Turkic tribes have ceased to lead a warrior's life the new generation scarcely remember the battle-cry of the clan, and hence the *uran* is more difficult of discovery than the *tamga*. Grodekoff,[1] perhaps the most successful of all the investigators along these lines, found that the chief *uran* of the Great Orda, namely, of the clans Jalair and Dulat, was 'Bahtyar', the name of one of the Kaizak heroes; the Kangli have a *uran* 'Bayterek', which is probably a corrupt form of the same name. This community of the *uran* confirms what is now known about the relationship between the Kangli and the Jalair. Sometimes the name of the clan is used as a *uran*, as

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[1] *The Kirghis and Kara-Kirghis of the Syr Daria Territory*, 1829, pp. 2-3.

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among the Seykym clan of the Kaizak, whose *uran* is also 'Seykym'.

Though the Kaizak belong geographically to the Iranized Turks, culturally they have on the whole much affinity with the Mongols. The majority are still nomadic cattle and horse breeders. Their method of cattle-keeping is a most luxurious one. They leave the cattle on the pastures the whole year round, hence their only care is to find a fresh pasture every season. The spring and autumn pastures may be the same. It is only recently, since more of the land has been claimed by the Russian Immigration Committee, that the Kaizak have begun to lay up winter stores for their cattle. Each clan has defined limits to its pasture lands. Under the old Russian system the pasture land used by the Kaizak belonged to the State, and they were granted the use of it, dividing it at their communal gatherings according to the number of people, cattle, and vehicles in each class. The permanent houses, gardens, arable land, and irrigation canals are hereditary.[1]

It is curious to note that the Kaizak, whose dwellings are so light and portable, bury their dead in solid structures of wood, clay, and brick. This custom also exists among the Kara-Kirghis, and was known to the old Yenisei-Kirghis. As it is not found among the non-Turkic population of Central Asia, it seems to indicate that those who practise it now are perhaps the nearest relatives of the people who built the old burial mounds of the Yenisei, called *kurgans*.

THE KARA-KALPAK ('Black Caps'), another Turkic tribe of the same group (134,313 in 1911 as against 111,799 in 1897), live in the Amu Daria district of the

[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, p. 159.

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Russians. Some few of them still live in the upper Yenisei valley, where they are mixed with the Abakan 'Tatars', but the majority of them are now to be found south of Yarkand, round by Pamir and Alai, to the north of Kashgar and Aksu (the Issyk-kul district). Many of them are known under their clan-names, others form the nation of the *Kara-Kirghis*.

The Kara-Kirghis fall into two branches, a right branch, called Ong, and a left, called Sol. The Ong branch is divided into two groups, Edigzne and Tagai. The Tagai group is composed of seven clans:[1]

1. Bugu (Stag), near the River Tekes, and to the east of Lake Issyk-kul.
2. Sary Bagish (Yellow Elk), to the south and west of Lake Issyk-kul.
3. Solto, south of the River Chu.
4. Sayak.
5. Cherik (Army) in Ferghana.
6. Chong Bagish (Great Elk), west of Kashgar.
7. Bassyz.

The Sol branch is less numerous, and lives chiefly along the River Talas. It includes three clans, Saru, Koshi, and Munduz.

All these Kirghis clans are related by intermarriage to the Naiman and the Kipchak, who, however, are reckoned to be quite a different nation.

It must be noted that Kirghis occurs also as a clan-name among the Usbegs and the Altaians.

The Kara-Kirghis have clan *tamgas* like the Kaizak, but the headship of their clan is a hereditary office, in contradistinction to the custom of the Kaizak, whose heads are elected. The head of the Kara-Kirghis clan is called *manap*, and the head of a confederation of clans is called *sza-manap*.

[1] Aristoff, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

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101 people who mix their pagan practices with some of the
177 Russian Orthodox Church beliefs. Those are:
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5. The Forest (Chern) Tatars of the Biisk district.
6. The Teleut and Telengit of the Biisk and Kuznietsk districts.
7. The Kumandits (or 'White Kalmucks') of the Kuznietsk and Biisk districts.
8. The Shortes and Lebyedints of the Kuznietsk district.
9. The Kyzyl and Chulim natives of the Achinsk district.
10. The Abakan Tatars (Kachints, Koibal, Beltir, and Sagai) of the Minusinsk district.
11. The Karagass of the Nijneudinsk district of the government of Irkutsk.
12. The Kamashints of the Kansk district.

177 The *Teleut* of the Kuznietsk district are perhaps the
101 most Russified, while the *Telengit*, along the rivers
144 Biya and Katun, are very much mixed with the Mongols. The following tribes are said to be mixed with the Ugrian-Ostyak, the Yenisei-Ostyak, and the Samoyed, though in culture, language, and tradition they are now Turkic:

1, The Kamashints; 2, the Karagass; 3, the Koibal; 4, the Beltir; 5, the Kyzyl; 6, the Shortes; 7, the Kumandints.

144 The racial origin of these tribes has been defined,
618 often superficially, merely judging from the names of their clans. Thus the Kyzyl (*Kyst*, 'man') are composed of ten classes: Kyzyl, Malo-Achin, Bolshe-Achin, Agy, Bassagar, Kamnar, Argyn, Kalmak, Kurchik, Shui. Of these, Argyn clan is said to be the remnant of the Kaizak of the Middle Orda, because those people have also had a clan of this name. Kalmak clan is also

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found among the Teleut, and Shui among Yenisei Ostyak, hence the admixture of the two races is attributed to Kyzyl by Radloff.[1]

Most of the Siberian Tatars, as well as Northern Uriankhai, call themselves Tuba, either exclusively or alongside with their tribal name, *Tuba* being the name of one of their clans. This name *Tuba*, *Tubas*, *Tupo* or *Doubo*, like the word *Tatar*, should be used with great caution, until its origin and meaning have been more clearly defined. It seems to have been adopted by the Chinese as a collective term for the people living in the Southern Yenisei Region, probably along the river of this name, the right tributary of the Yenisei. The Russian historians of Siberia, Miller[2] and Fischer,[3] mention the people of Tuba as paying tribute to the Mongol Altyn Khan, and opposing for a long time Russian conquest, but it is not clear whether this name had a racial meaning, designating, e. g., the extinct Arine, Kottes, &c., or the Samoyed, or was used only as a geographical term for all peoples living near the River Tuba. Now at any rate it does not seem to be limited entirely to the tribes whom one can suspect of having some Samoyed blood in them, for it is found among the Altaians, whom even Castrén and Kostroff with all their 'Pan-Samoyedic' theory could not call 'Tatarised Samoyed'. It is found moreover among the *Kachints*, who, according to Katanoff,[4] were Kuchum-Khan people, who moved to the River Kacha, near Krasnoyarsk, after the defeat of Kuchum, and farther

[1] A. A. Yariloff, *The Kyzyl and their Industry*, 1899, p. 1.
[2] G. F. Miller, *Description of the Tsardom of Siberia* (1750).
[3] J. E. Fischer, *Sibirische Geschichte* (1768).
[4] 'Legends relating to old deeds and old people among the tribes living near the Sayan Mountains', *Mem. I. R. G. S.*, vol. XXXIV, 1909, p. 280.

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That at one time a Samoyed group might have migrated to the Soyot (Uriankhai) is not out of the question, since many clan-names of the Samoyed and the Uriankhai are alike. But no other signs of this relationship can be found now, and the southernmost Turks, who may have been originally Samoyed, are the Kamashints, some of whom, at the time of Castrén's travels (1840–50), were speaking a Samoyedic dialect. When Radloff visited them, however (about 1865), all signs of Samoyedic speech had disappeared, and only a Turkic dialect was in use.

Radloff thinks that the Uriankhai are the forefathers of the present Yakut,[1] which, however, sounds improbable, if only because the Uriankhai are almost the most successful reindeer-breeders known, whilst the Yakut learnt that art only after their migration to the north.

The number of the Uriankhai is some 100,000. Until recently they formed one *aimak* or province of China. They are subdivided into nine local groups (*khoshun* or *kopun*), which again are divided into *sumo* or tribes. The *sumo* is further subdivided into *sŏk*, clans, or perhaps moieties. The clan-names are mostly of Turkic origin, many of them being found also among other Turanian Turks, e.g. Irgit, Soyan, Kirghis, Kaizak, Koeluk, Uigur, &c.

The Uriankhai living in the steppe country are mostly cattle-breeders; some of them, however, depend chiefly on hunting and fishing. It is only in this region that we find the breeding of horse, yak, and reindeer for

[1] Radloff, 'Die Jakutische Sprache', *Bull. I.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 54–6. For opposite opinion see I. P. Silinich, 'On the question of the physical type of the population of North-west Siberia', *Russ. Anthr. J.*, Nos. 3–4, 1916, pp. 51–3.